1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 627 684 578 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philosophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

● 848 851 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 848 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a ' tame ' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. /Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [84] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. 846 In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [163] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among [55] the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hlechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage.

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family.

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 137.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!